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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the issue of the relationship between World Englishes (WE) and applied linguistics. The diffusion of English is seen in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle (first-language varieties, e.g., the United States, United Kingdom), the Outer Circle (English-as-a-Second-Language varieties), and the Expanding Circle (English-as-a-Foreign-Language varieties). The discussion is essentially restricted to the Outer Circle in which the institutionalized non-native varieties of English are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts, and focuses on four major issues, including: theoretical, applied, societal, and ideological. The paper is divided into the following sections: ontological issues; conflict between idealization and reality; acquisition and creativity; the "leaking paradigms"; cultural content of English; ideological change; where applied linguistics fails the Outer Circle of English; and types of fallacies about WEs. (Author/JL)

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WORLD ENGLISHES AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Braj B. Kachru

Abstract:

This paper addresses the issue of the relationship between world Englishes (WE) and applied linguistics. The diffusion of English is seen in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle (L1 varieties, e.g. the USA, United Kingdom), the Outer Circle (ESL varieties), and the Expanding Circle (EFL varieties). The discussion is essentially restricted to the Outer Circle in which the institutionalized non-native varieties of English are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts. The discussion is about four major issues: theoretical, applied, societal and ideological, and focuses specifically on (a) attitudes concerning the ontological status of the varieties of English; (b) generalizations about the creative strategies used for learning English in multilingual/multicultural contexts; (c) descriptions of the pragmatic and interactional contexts of WEs and their implications; (d) assumptions concerning multi-cultural identities of WEs; (e) assumptions about the role of English in initiating ideological and social change; and (f) assumptions about communicative competence in English. The paper is divided into the following sections: ontological issues; conflict between idealization and reality; acquisition and creativity; the 'leaking paradigms'; cultural content of English; ideological change; where applied linguistics fails the Outer Circle of English; and types of fallacies about WEs. This study does not view applied linguistics as divorced from social concerns: the concerns of relevance to the society in which we live. This view, then, entails social responsibility and accountability for research in applied linguistics.

Introduction[1]

The choice of world Englishes as the starting point of this paper calls for two types of explanations. One, that of terminology: why 'world Englishes', and not just world 'English'? Second, that of justification of relationship: why choose world Englishes to address the issues related to applied linguistics? There is no simple or short answer to the first question. An answer to this question, as we know, entails more than pure linguistic issues, the issues of attitude, and additionally several extralinguistic factors. During the last two decades a reasonable body of research has been done to provide answers to this question.

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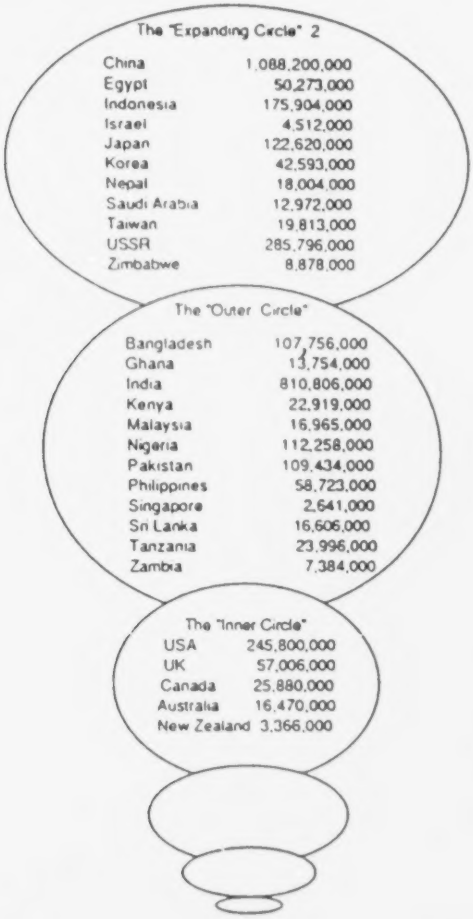
(For bibliographic references see Kachru 1985 and 1986a.) What I would like to attempt in this paper, therefore, is to provide a perspective for the second question, that of the justification of the relationship between world Englishes and applied linguistics, a perspective which is essentially that of the user of English who belongs to the Outer Circle of English out of the three concentric circles outlined below. Note that South Africa (pop. 29,628,000) and Jamaica (pop. 2,407,000) are not listed. The reason is the sociolinguistic complexity of these two countries in terms of their English-using populations and the functions of English. (See Kachru 1985: 12-14.)



It seems to me that this perspective not only defines my approach to our understanding of the global spread of English, but to some extent it also defines the goals which I set for the field of applied linguistics.

The relationship between world Englishes and applied linguistics as a field of research and inquiry is motivated by several types of issues: theoretical and applied, as well as societal and ideological.

I will start with what I consider the theoretical issues. Since the 1950s there has been intense activity in the linguistic sciences for analysis and description of two main varieties of the English language, American and British. Extensive data banks have been established on English at the centers of research at the universities of Birmingham, Brown, London, and Lund, to name just four. And such data banks are also being developed in Asia and Africa (see e.g. Greenbaum 1989 and Shastri 1985). The largest number of applied linguists in various parts of the world are working in ESL/EFL related contexts. And, at some places, the term 'applied linguistics' is often wrongly equated with the teaching of ESL/EFL.

The research on second language acquisition, first language acquisition, and different aspects of sociolinguistics has primarily focused on English. Additionally the interdisciplinary fields of stylistics, and bilingual and monolingual lexicography have also concentrated on English. The major insights gained in the theory of translation are derived from the translation of texts of English into other languages of the world, and of those languages into English. Generalizations about natural languages, their structural characteristics, and the possible categories of language universals usually begin with analyses of and examples from English. In short, what we see, linguistically and sociolinguistically speaking, is that the field of linguistics and its applications are closely linked to one major language of our time, English. And almost the total spectrum of applied linguistic research, its strengths and limitations, can be demonstrated with reference to this language. One might, then, say that the last four decades have been the decades of English.

Moreover, English has acquired unprecedented sociological and ideological dimensions. It is now well-recognized that in linguistic history no language has touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige, as has the English language since the 1930s. And, equally important, across cultures English has been successful in creating a class of people who have greater intellectual power in multiple spheres of language use unsurpassed by any single language before; not by Sanskrit during its heyday, not by Latin during its grip on Europe, and not by French during the peak of the colonial period.

The reasons for the diffusion and penetration of English are complex, and these have been extensively discussed in earlier literature.[3] However, one dimension of the diffusion of English is especially important to us, particularly

those of us who represent the developing world, who are directly influenced by the research in applied linguistics, and who are considered the main beneficiaries of the insights gained by such research. Again, it is the developing world in which the English language has become one of the most vital tools of ideological and social change, and at the same time an object of intense controversy.

It is this developing world which forms an important component of the three Concentric Circles of English: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. These three circles, as has repeatedly been mentioned in the literature, bring to the English language (and, of course, to its literature, too) a unique cultural pluralism, and a variety of speech fellowships. These three circles certainly bring to English linguistic diversity; and let us not underestimate - as some scholars tend to do - the resultant cultural diversity. One is tempted to say, as does Tom McArthur (1987), that the three Circles of English have resulted in several English 'languages'. True, the purist pundits find this position unacceptable, but that actually is now the linguistic reality of the English language.

The world Englishes are the result of these diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts. As a result, numerous questions and concerns come to the forefront. Applied linguists, primarily of the Inner Circle, have articulated their positions about these concerns; they have interpreted various contexts of the uses of English, and they have provided research paradigms and methodologies.

The range of aspects of applied linguistics such scholars have covered in their paradigms is wide, e.g., sociolinguistics, stylistics, language teaching, the acquisition of English as an additional language, and so on. The impact of such research has been significant; it has raised daunting questions which have never been raised before, particularly concerning the standards, models, and diversification in English, concerning the functions of English in the Outer Circle, concerning the functional power of English, and concerning the social issues and-if I may add-the responsibility of applied linguists (see e.g. Quirk & Widdowson [eds.] 1985, Kachru and Smith 1986, and Lowenberg [ed.] 1988).

And here, two things need stressing: the terms 'applied linguistics' and 'social concern'. The dichotomy between 'theoretical' and 'applied' linguistics is essentially one of difference in focus rather than of distinct identities. Charles Ferguson and Michael Halliday have repeatedly warned us that the separation of the two (pure vs. applied) is not very meaningful. However, applied linguistics, in whatever manifestation, is essentially an area which reveals certain concerns and certain responsibilities. And the term 'social concern' brings in another dimension, though an extralinguistic one.

I believe that 'social concern' refers to the responsibility of a discipline toward relevant social issues, and application of an appropriate body of knowledge to seek answers to such issues. The term 'social issues' naturally

opens a Pandora's box: what is a social issue? And, how can a profession be evaluated on its response to such issues? These are, of course, controversial questions, and as Bolinger (1973: 539) rightly says, the answers to these questions have to be rediscovered by each generation. However, now and then, a profession must address these questions as an exercise in evaluation of the field and its direction. It is true that in the USA during the 1940s and 1950s we passed through a long phase 'across the semantic desert'. There was a feeling that 'life had lost all meaning, except perhaps differential meaning' (Bolinger 1973: 540). We had stopped asking questions concerning 'meaning' and responsibility. And, thankfully, even in the USA, that phase is over now. During the last two decades, serious questions have been asked: questions about the evaluation of the field, about the linguists' responsibilities, and about the goals and areas of applied linguistics (see e.g. Labov, particularly 1982 cited in Trudgill 1984; Lakoff 1975).

However, a caveat is in order here: whenever such questions are asked they are naturally concerned with issues related to the USA or the United Kingdom. Very rarely have questions of concern, of responsibility, and of linguistic pragmatism been raised with reference to world Englishes. In other words, to quote Bolinger (1973: 540) again, 'the linguist up to very recently has been a more or less useful sideliner, but not a social critic'. And, so far as world Englishes in the Outer Circle are concerned, that role of the linguist still persists.

2.0 Major issues of concern

Now, I do not propose to take up the role of a social critic here. What I propose to do is to select some of the issues related to world Englishes and applied research, and share with you my concerns about such research. I will, of course, not go into all the issues and their ramifications. I will merely present a commentary on the following issues which I consider vital for our understanding of English in its world context: (a) attitudes concerning the ontological status of the varieties of English; (b) generalizations about the creative strategies used for learning English as an additional language in multilingual and multicultural contexts; (c) descriptions of the pragmatic and interactional contexts of world Englishes, and their relevance to pragmatic success and failure; (d) assumptions about the cultural content of the varieties of English and the role of such varieties as the vehicles of the Judeo-Christian (or, broadly, Western) traditions; (e) assumptions about the role of English in initiating ideological and social changes; and (f) assumptions about communicative competence in English and the relevant interlocutors in such communicative contexts.

I shall discuss these points one by one in the following sections. But before I do that, I must briefly discuss the current dominant and less dominant approaches to world Englishes to provide a theoretical perspective for the

discussion. In recent years the following approaches have been used to study world Englishes: (1) the deficit approach; (2) the deviational approach; (3) the contextualizational approach; (4) the variational approach; and (5) the interactional approach.

However, out of these five approaches it is the first two (the deficit and the deviational approaches) that have dominated the field. And, it is these two approaches which, I believe, are the least insightful. The following comments are thus a critique primarily of these two approaches, and the attitudes that such approaches reflect.

2.1 Ontological issues: Conflict between idealization and reality

The initial question takes us to the core of the problem, the issues of attitudes and identity. The attitudes toward a variety of English are only partially determined by linguistic considerations. The other considerations are of assigning a place and a status to the user of the other variety, or marking the distance of a person in the social network. We see two major positions concerning the varieties of English in the Outer Circle: one, the **nativist monomodel** position; and second, the **functional polymodel** position.

The first position, perhaps in an extreme form, is well-articulated in two paradigm papers, one by Clifford Prator (1968) and the other by Randolph Quirk (1988). These two studies were presented almost a generation apart. The Prator study was originally presented in 1966. Quirk presented his views first at the 1987 Georgetown University Round Table devoted to language spread (see also Quirk 1988 and 1989).

The functional polymodel position entails the use of theoretical and methodological frameworks which relate the formal and functional characteristics of English in the Outer Circle to appropriate sociolinguistic and interactional contexts. I have presented this position since the 1960s, and over a period of time many studies have been written following this approach, at various centers. (For bibliographical references see Kachru 1986a).

The Quirk papers, representing the first position, deserve special attention for several reasons: these papers are written by one of the most venerable and intellectually influential scholars of the English language during our time, and his papers take us back to some of the fundamental questions which concern all who are working in the areas of applied linguistics. Furthermore, the papers reopen some questions, which some of us believed had been put to rest during the past rather productive years of research on world Englishes.

The main points of what I have called 'the Quirk concerns' may be summarized as follows. Quirk sees language spread primarily with reference to three models: the **demographic**, the **econo-cultural**, and the **imperial**. The demographic model implies language spread with accompanying population

spread. The econo-cultural model suggests language spread without a serious population spread, essentially for scientific, technological and cultural information. The imperial model applies to language spread as the result of political (colonial) domination.

The demographic model has resulted in several varieties of English in the Inner Circle (e.g. American, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand). The econo-cultural and imperial models have, over a period of time, resulted in the endocentric varieties of English in Africa, Asia, and the Philippines (see e.g. Bailey and Gorlach 1982, Kachru 1982 and 1986a, Platt et al. 1984, and Pride 1982).

However, Quirk's concerns are about the endocentric models in the Outer Circle and their implications for pedagogy, the international currency of English, and generally, the good linguistic health of the English language. These concerns raise a number of questions relevant to serious practitioners of applied linguistics. Consider, for example, the following: (a) Do the Outer Circle varieties of English, primarily second language varieties, have an ontological status - that is, sociolinguistically speaking? (b) What are the needs-analyses for the uses of English in the Outer Circle: econo-cultural or intranational? (c) What is the relevance of various types of ontological labels used for the varieties of English in the Outer Circle? (d) What is the relationship between the sociolinguistic identity of a variety of English, and the available descriptions of the variety at various linguistic levels?, and (e) What is the formal and functional relevance of distinctions such as ESL and EFL?

Quirk, in his usual elegant way, has not only raised these questions for the profession to ponder, but he has also brought into the open a concern which is shared by several scholars.

In brief, his position on the above five questions is as follows. Quirk rejects the sociolinguistic identity of the varieties of English in the Outer Circle and considers the recognition of such identity as '... the false extrapolation of English "varieties" by some linguists', (1988: 232). He sees the international needs of English essentially as econo-cultural ('the econo-cultural model of language spread applied in our times more to English than to any other language', 1988: 231). He rejects the use of identificational terms such as 'Nigerian English', 'West African English', 'South Asian English', 'Singapore English', and characterizes them as '... misleading, if not entirely false...' (1988: 234); he does not believe that the varieties of English are adequately described at various linguistic levels and, therefore, these cannot be used as pedagogically acceptable (or ontologically recognizable) models. And finally, he rejects the generally recognized dichotomy between ESL and EFL ('I ignore it partly because I doubt its validity and frequently fail to understand its meaning' (1988: 236).

In other words, for Quirk, among the English users of the world there is another kind of dichotomy: one between **us** (the Inner Circle) and **them** (the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle). This dichotomy has serious sociolinguistic and attitudinal implications: one being that the power to define the other group is with **us** and not with **them**. This is an interesting way of making a distinction between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' members of English-using speech fellowships. I am not saying that that is what Quirk has in mind---far from that. However, we should not forget that labels have a value, they provide a definition. And, Bolinger (1973: 541) is right when he says that 'a loaded word is like a loaded gun, sometimes fired deliberately, but almost as often by accident.'

I will not digress here to discuss why Quirk's major points cannot be accepted in terms of the sociolinguistic reality of world Englishes, and how they cannot be supported by the linguistic history of the spread of other major languages of the world. This has already been done in a number of studies (for references see Kachru 1986a and Smith, ed. 1987). However, I do not want to give the impression that Quirk's concerns are not shared by other scholars. Indeed, there are several scholars of that persuasion in the United Kingdom, in the USA as well as in Asia and Africa. I will save the discussion of these concerns, 'the Quirk concerns', for another occasion (see Kachru 1989).

2.2 Acquisition and creativity: The 'leaking' paradigms

The second question relates to acquisition and creativity. The dominant paradigms of second language acquisition are 'leaking' for more than one reason. The question of 'bridging the paradigm gap' between the theory and functions of the institutionalized varieties of English has been discussed in several recent studies (see specifically, Lowenberg and Sridhar [eds.] 1986). I am addressing here another aspect of the 'leaking' paradigms: the misinterpretation or neglect of the creative aspects of uses of English in the Outer Circle.

This misinterpretation is essentially the result of undue emphasis on concepts such as 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization'. However, it is gratifying to note that, after dominating the scene for over a decade, the error in institutionalizing 'error analysis' as an insightful paradigm has finally been realized (see relevant studies in Robinett & Schachter [eds.] 1983). But let me go back to the concepts 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization'.

'Interlanguage' is 'the type of language produced by second-and foreign-language learners who are in the process of learning a language.' (Richards et al. 1985: 145) and 'fossilization' refers to '... linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL [native language] will tend to keep in their IL [interlanguage] relative to a particular TL [target language], no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL' (Selinker 1972 in Robinett and Schachter 1983: 177).

Interlanguage, then, is a developmental process, and fossilization is a static condition. One is developmental in the sense that it is model (or target) oriented, and suggests directionality in terms of attaining stages toward a goal. The other is static and indicates 'freezing' with respect to creativity.

There are at least three problems with these two concepts with particular reference to world Englishes. These are:

a. **Acceptance of a unimodel approach to creativity**: The creative use of language is seen with reference to the model provided by the target language, and the goal of acquisition is determined by the acquisition of an exo-normative model;

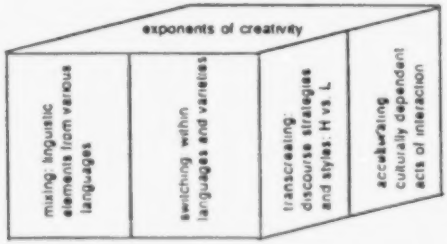
b. **Rejection of the contact features as undesirable interference**: This has even resulted in a failure to recognize subtle creative processes due to the influence of the contexts of contact. The effects of contact have only been viewed in a negative sense; and

c. **Emphasis on a 'unidimensional' view of functions**: The 'unidimensional view' provides a misleading picture about the functions of English, and about the innovations in English. This view is misleading in more than one sense. First, it results in a serious corpus constraint. Variety-specific generalizations are made on one type of data (e.g. scripts provided by students), ignoring the implications of the cline of bilingualism. Second, the 'interference' is not related to function: The result is that external discoursal and interactional norms are imposed on a variety. The 'interference' in, for example, Singaporean English or Pakistani English, is not always the result of acquisitional deficiency; there is sometimes a clear motivation for it. Often, in newspaper registers, for example, the aim is to establish, contextually speaking, an identity with readers (see e.g. Kachru 1982 for references).

The insightful dimensions of creativity in English such as non-native literatures in English, and intranational registers ('mixed' or 'unmixed') seem to have escaped the attention of second language acquisition researchers in English. In fact, as I have said elsewhere (Kachru 1987), David Crystal is not alone among linguists who believe that '...it is quite unclear what to make of cases like Nabokov and others' (see Paikeday 1985: 67). It so happens that in bilingual societies, most literary creativity is done in a language or a variety which is not one's first language variety. The constraints of 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization' on such creativity are simply not applicable. If a text is not viewed in this broader context the result is misleading generalizations of the type which we find in Bell (1976) and Selinker (1972). Bell considers 'Indianized English',

or 'Anglicized Hindi' 'xized' varieties, because '... the motivation for or possibility of further learning is removed from a group of learners' (155). How misleading!

It is essential to consider the multiple dimensions of creativity, and then make generalizations. By multiple dimensions I mean creativity of various types, appropriate to different contexts, genres, and so on. Consider, for example, the following:


exponents of creativity
mixing: linguistic elements from various languages
switching: within languages and varieties
transcreating: discourse strategies and styles: H vs. L
accelerating: culturally dependent acts of interaction

2.3 Pragmatic contexts: Success vs failure

The third question concerns the user and uses. Research on the pragmatics of English---that is, on the variables of pragmatic success and failure in world Englishes---is basically determined in terms of (a) the formal characteristics of the code or its varieties; (b) the participants in an interaction; and (c) the 'effective results' of verbal communication. Linguistic encounters in the Outer Circle are primarily viewed with reference to variables of the Inner Circle.

This, of course, raises several questions, because the underlying sociolinguistic presuppositions are mistaken. One basically wrong assumption is that non-native varieties of English are primarily used for international purposes. That actually is not true. In the Outer Circle, the interaction with native speakers of English is minimal. In India, Nigeria, Singapore, and the Philippines, to give just four examples, the localized (domesticated) roles are more extensive, and more important, than are the international roles.

Another mistaken assumption is that when English is used internationally, a native speaker is usually involved. This emphasis on the native speaker of English in all interactional contexts is of doubtful sociolinguistic validity. The real-world situation is that, in the Outer Circle, the predominant functions of English involve interlocutors who use English as an additional language---Indians with Indians, Singaporeans with Singaporeans, Indians with Singaporeans, Filipinos with Chinese or Japanese, Nigerians with Kenyans, and so on. This point has been clearly brought out in Smith, 1987 with empirical data from several parts of the world.

In such intranational and Outer Circle encounters, the users of institutionalized varieties of English are certainly not using just one type of English; they expect an Indian to sound like an Indian and to use the discoursal strategies of an Indian, and they expect a Nigerian to come up to their notion (however stereotypical) of a Nigerian user of English. The interlocutors in such interactions expect a functional range of varieties, and they certainly adopt the strategies of 'mixing' and 'switching' depending on the participants. It is thus the contexts of encounters which determine the interactional strategies used in a linguistic interaction.

I am certainly not advocating that we should not expect linguistically (and contextually) maximal pragmatic success in what have been claimed to be the 'survival' registers. My claim is that, for determining the pragmatic success of the largest range of functional domains for English, the local (domesticated) pragmatic contexts are important, because it is these contexts that matter the most to the largest number of English-users in the Outer Circle. The interaction with native speakers is only marginal. In an earlier paper (Kachru 1986b), I have suggested that this claim applies to several subregisters---e.g. legal or medical---in India and Nigeria, to give just two examples.

In the Outer Circle, the members of English-using speech fellowships interact with a verbal repertoire consisting of several codes, and the use of each code has a 'social meaning'. We seem to have underestimated the linguistic manipulation of the multilingual contexts in which English is used. We see this manipulation when we watch a Singaporean doctor talk to a Singaporean patient, or an Indian or a Pakistani doctor interact with a patient from his or her region. The manipulation takes place in lectal switch, code mixing, and so on.

And, while discussing the pragmatics of a code, let me bring in an aspect of world Englishes generally ignored by applied linguists: the use of sub-varieties of English in, for example, literary creativity. This aspect has been ignored particularly by those linguists who work in the areas of applied or contrastive stylistics. What immediately comes to mind is the nativized styles and discourse in the English used in the Outer Circle (see e.g. Smith 1987). Consideration of this aspect of English is important, since the writer of English in the Outer Circle is faced with a rather difficult situation; he/she is a bilingual or multilingual, but not necessarily bi-or-multicultural. And he/she is using English in a context which gives the language a new linguistic and cultural identity (see e.g. Dissanayake and Nichter 1987, Gonzalez 1987, Kachru 1983 and 1986c, Thumboo 1988).

Now, the pragmatic success of such codes is not determined by the attitude of the native speaker toward the code, but by the effectiveness of such codes within the contexts of use such as stylistic effectiveness, emotional effectiveness, and effectiveness in terms of identity. Let us consider for example, the creative writing of three contemporary Singaporean writers of English: Kirpal Singh, Arthur Yap, and Catherine Lim.

Singh's *Voices* and Yap's *two mothers in an HDB playground*, both poetic compositions, and Lim's stories *A Taxi driver* and *A Mother-in-law's Curse* exploit distinctly different stylistic devices to achieve what I believe is maximum pragmatic success in textual terms. *Voices* essentially uses mixed codes; Yap contextually, as it were, 'legitimizes' the use of an attitudinally low variety and shows the effectiveness of various types of mixing; e.g. the poem contains *jamban*('toilet bowl' in Malay), *toa-soh* ('drive in a car' in Hokkien), *ah pah* ('father' in Hokkien), and constructions such as 'What boy is he in the exam?', 'I scold like mad but what for?' 'Sit like don't want to get up', and so on. And Lim provides convincing examples of appropriate code alteration true to the sociolinguistic contexts of Singapore.

It is through such linguistic devices of diglossic switch and mixing (as in Yap's poem) that various local stylistic resources for creativity are exploited. True, there is a linguistic dilemma in this: if such creativity is evaluated within reference points provided by the Inner Circle, or taking the native speaker as the primary reader of such texts, one might say that there are 'inappropriate' uses of varieties of English. However, if the creativity is viewed from the perspective of the code repertoire of a Singapore creative writer and a Singaporean reader, the codes are appropriate in terms of use. And, for those who are familiar with the Singaporean sociolinguistic contexts, the language has been used with maximum pragmatic success.

Another example is from the state bordering on Singapore. In Malaysia, *Asia Week* (May 24, 1987: 64) tells us that 'English-medium drama by local playwrights is a recent trend.' In the play *Caught in the middle*, there is an attempt to 'go completely Malaysian.' The strategies used are the following: the bulk of the dialogue is in English, but there is switching and mixing between Bahasa Malaysia, Cantonese, and Tamil. We are told that '... 'Malaysian English' spoken, especially marks a progression toward more realistic language in more realistic settings---the home, the pub.' Consider the following excerpt:

> Mrs. Chandran: Aiee-yah, mow fatt chee ka la (can't do anything about it.) Clean it up, Ah Lan. The rubbish-man will be coming soon, and you know he doesn't take rubbish that isn't nicely packed and tied up.
>
> Ah Lan (the amah) : Rubbish is rubbish-lah. Supposed to be dirty, what. Real fussy rubbish-man, must have neat rubbish to take away.

And Lloyd Fernando's observation is that Malaysian English provides realism to the play,

It exploits that with good humor. Malaysian English is now a dialect, recognized as such. In some situations, if you don't speak like that, you are regarded as a foreigner. By using it [Malaysian English] the playwright draws us into the magic circle(64).

The point here is that the parameters for determining pragmatic success cannot always be, and should not always be, determined by the Inner Circle. Achebe (1976: 11), therefore has a point when he says that:

I should like to see the word *universal* banned altogether from discussions of African literature until such a time as people cease to use it as a synonym for the narrow, self-serving parochialism of Europe.

Let me give another example here from the register of advertising in Japan. Of course, Japan is not a part of the Outer Circle, and from my point of view that fact makes this example even more significant. The example throws a different light on our use of the term 'pragmatic success', and I believe supports what I have suggested above.

The pragmatic success of English in advertising in Japan, as illustrated by the following example, must be seen with reference to the attitude of the Japanese toward English, and their 'consuming passion for English vocabulary' (*Asia Week*, October 5, 1984: 49).

1. Kanebo cosmetics: for beautiful human life
2. Tokyo Utility Company: my life, my gas
3. Shinjuku Station Concourse: nice guy making; multiple days autumn fair; planning and creative; let's communicate.

Asia Week makes an apt observation about contextual justification of these examples:

to the English speaker they [vocabulary items] may be silly, childish, or annoying. Sometimes a double meaning makes them unintentionally funny. But the ubiquitous English of Japanese ads conveys a feeling to Japanese(p. 49).

The use of these phrases---deviant from the native speakers' perspective---has a deep psychological effect from the Japanese point of view; and, from a commercial perspective, that is just what an advertisement should achieve. This point is clearly emphasized in the following extended excerpt:

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To produce one such phrase requires the expensive services of an ad agency as sophisticated as anywhere. A creative director gathers the team and concepts are tossed about, a first-rate copywriter works on the theme, a lengthy rationalization is prepared for the client, a decision eventually made to launch. Cost: maybe millions of yen. *Everyone understands that it is substandard English. Explains a copywriter at Dentsu: 'yes, of course we know it sounds corny to an American, even objectionable to some. But what the foreigner thinks of it is immaterial. The ad is purely domestic, a lot of market research has gone into it. It evokes the right images. It sells.'* For product names, English words that seem dismayingly inappropriate to the foreign listener are sometimes chosen. The most frequently quoted example is a very popular soft-drink called *Sweat*. The idea of using a body secretion as an enticing name for a fluid to drink out of a can is just as unpleasant to a Japanese as to an Englishman, but *sweat* conjures a different image: hot and thirsty after vigorous activity on the sporting field. The drink's *Pocari* in Hongkong. Some English words enjoy a fad season. Currently very much in are *life, my, be*, and *city*, the last-named suffering from the phonetic necessity to render the s before *i* as *sh*. My *City* is a multi-storeyed shopping complex in Shinjuku where you can shop for *my-sports* things to take to your *my-house* in your *my-car*. *New* remains popular. If no suitable English word exists, nothing is lost, coin one. Some, indeed, are accidentally rather catchy: *magineer*. Others elicit only sighs. *Creap* is a big selling cream-powder for coffee. *Facom* was perhaps not such a felicitous choice considering the open back vowel for Japanese. Currently in season are words ending in - topia, presumably from *utopia*. There was a *Portopia*, a *Computopia* and a *Sportopia*. The brand-new Hilton Hotel boasts a splendid shopping annex called the *Hiltopia*. (Emphasis added; *Asiaweek*, October 5, 1984).

2.4 Cultural content of English

The fourth question is rather controversial: what is the culture specificity of English? There are two views on this point. One view holds that English is essentially an exponent of the Western Judeo-Christian tradition. It is believed that it is this association and cultural-load of English that interferes in more than one sense with the native socio-cultural traditions in Asia and Africa. Therefore, the second, non-culture-specific view, takes the position that '...the English language is different from other languages in that it 'extends' the meaning of particular words beyond the culture-specific connotations because of the international demands made on it' (Lyons, quoted in Street 1984: 78).

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The first view, culture-specific, seems to be used in more than one sense. A number of scholars in Britain and the USA feel that the culture-specificity of English is its essential characteristic, and that the non-cultural-specific view dilutes that position of the language. In the Outer Circle, those who oppose English, use the culture-specificity of English as a basis for arguing that the use of English is an intrusion into their native cultures. Thus, according to this group, English is an 'alien' language not only in the sense that it does not belong to the linguistic stock of the region, but also in that it represents a culture alien to the local socio-cultural traditions.

It seems to me that the strength of English is not its culture-specificity with reference to Britain or America, or non-culture specificity in the sense Lyons presents it, and which Street rightly rejects (for details see Street 1984: 66-94). The strength of English lies in its multi-cultural specificity, which the language reveals in its formal and functional characteristics, as in, for example, West Africa, South Asia, and the Philippines. These characteristics have given the English language distinct cultural identities in these regions, and recognition of this fact is essential for any insightful research on the world varieties of English. A good parallel example is that of Christianity and Islam in Asia: these two religions have become so much a part of the local cultural traditions that it is not very insightful to consider these now as 'foreign'.

2.5 Ideological change

The fifth question is closely related to the preceding discussions since culture-specificity and ideological change seem to go hand in hand. I believe that in discussions of ideological change, undue emphasis seems to have been laid on one type of ideological change---the positive or negative aspects of Westernization. The reality seems to be in between the two extreme positions (see Kachru 1986d). A process of rethinking and reevaluation is needed to see what English has contributed in the past and continues to contribute in the present in the Outer Circle---as indeed do other languages---toward self-identification and self-knowledge.

A good example is again provided by Japan. Consider the following observation from *JAAL Bulletin* (December 1986: 7).[4]

> Prof. Takao Suzuki of Keio university lectured on 'International English and Native English---Is English really an International language?' Dividing English into International English and Native English, he criticized Japanese teachers of English for teaching Native English, dealing only with the literature, history and lifestyles of England and America. He urged us to recognize the fact that English is no longer the sole property of native English speakers.

Japan's relations with Europe and America have changed from 'vertical (unidirectional inflow of advanced technology and culture) to 'horizontal' (economical and cultural exchange on equal terms). Accordingly, he argued, English teaching in Japan should also change from emphasizing the conventional 'receiver' type to emphasizing the 'sender' type in order to express ourselves and our culture. While using English as the 'form', he suggested, we should use as the 'content' Japan and other non-English cultural phenomena such as Korean history, Arabic religion, or German literature.

The last question is about communicative competence and it has many faces. My preceding discussion of pragmatic success, culture-specificity, and ideological change naturally leads us to the area which is vaguely represented in 'communicative competence'(for further discussion see Savignon 1987). In recent years, communicative competence has become one major area to which applied linguists have paid serious attention. A partial bibliography on communicative language teaching includes over 1180 items (see Ramaiah and Prabhu 1985, also Berns 1985). Again, considerable research on this topic has been done with specific reference to the teaching of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles of English, and this research comes in various vintages. The most popular and, at the same time, rewarding for the publishing industry is research on ESP (English for Specific Purposes).

Research on ESP, manuals for its use, lexical lists, and other aids are guided by the assumption of the culture-specificity of English, in which 'appropriateness' is determined by the interlocutors from the Inner Circle. I have shown in an earlier paper on this topic that this assumption is only partially correct (see Kachru 1986b).

However as an aside, I would like to mention a recent paper by Francis Singh (1987) which insightfully discusses the role of power and politics in the examples chosen to illustrate various grammatical points in three grammar books used in the Indian sub-continent, Nesfield (1895), Tipping (1933), and Wren and Martin (1954). She, then,contrasts the examples used by these three grammarians with that of Sidhu (1976), an Indian teacher of English. The conclusions Singh arrives at are very illuminating. These four grammar books provide paradigm examples of power and politics as these reflect in the genre of school textbooks.

What we need now is a study of the same type for ESP texts. My guess is that the results concerning the underlying assumptions of such texts will be, to say the least, provocative.

3.0 Where does applied linguistics fail the Outer Circle of English?

And now I come to what to me is the heart of the problem. And it naturally is controversial. Where does applied linguistics fail the Outer Circle of English? It is true that the last three decades have been the decades of significant strides for the development of applied linguistics. True, we must recognize the fact that applied theory has been used in areas which were almost unresearched before. And the result of this extension and application of the linguistic sciences has been insightful. It is now realized, though belatedly in the USA, as Lakoff (1975: 336) tells us, that '... the theoretical linguist must deal with problems of the intellect and morality, with reality and sanity...' And, turning to applied linguists, Lakoff continues '...the applied linguist must concern himself with decisions among possible theories, universals of grammar, relations among grammatical systems.' But, then, that is only one side of the coin. There is, naturally, another side to this coin---a side which has traditionally been left without comment. A side which touches millions of users of English in the Outer Circle.

It is this side of applied linguistics which concerns educators, policy planners, parents, children and above all, a multitude of developing nations across the proverbial Seven Seas. The implications of applied linguistic research raise questions, and result in various types of concerns. As I said at the outset, these are questions of theory, empirical validity, social responsibility, and of ideology. Let me briefly present some of these here.

First, the question of ethnocentricism in conceptualization of the field of world Englishes. The world Englishes in the Outer Circle are perceived from the vantage point of the Inner Circle. The perception of the users and uses of English in that circle is not only in conflict with the real sociolinguistic profiles of English, but is also conditioned by an attitude which has divided the English-using world into two large groups. One group, defined in most unrealistic terms, comprises those who seem to be expected to learn English for communication with another particular group. And, the other group comprises those who continue to look at the diffusion of English essentially in pedagogical terms. This ethnocentric perception has created a situation which is obviously incorrect on many counts.

The second question relates to what has been termed in the literature 'the Observer's Paradox'. The 'Observer's Paradox' applies in several ways to observations on English in the Outer Circle. First, there is an idealization of contexts of use; second, the focus is on static categories of the lectal range as opposed to the dynamic interactional nature of the functions; third, the observer isolates the use of English from the total repertoire of the user; and fourth, the researcher does not recognize the confusion between the performance and the model.

The third question involves the 'paradigm trap'. The paradigm trap seems to constrain not only description of the varieties, but also discussion of creativity in the use of the language, models for teaching, and teaching methodology. One notices this constraint in several ways: in the theoretical and methodological approaches used to describe the sociolinguistic contexts, and in the data selected for analysis; in the description of the acquisitional strategies and the resultant description of such language, and the generalizations made from such data (e.g. interlanguage, fossilization); and in the evangelical zeal with which the pedagogical methods are propagated and presented to the developing Third World, often with weak theoretical foundations, and with doubtful relevance to the sociological, educational, and economic contexts of the Outer Circle.

The fourth question relates to the frustrating signs of excessive commercialization of professional minds and professional organizations. In professional circles, in ESL/EFL programs, there still is the syndrome that the English language is part of the baggage of transfer of technology to the Outer Circle. This one way transfer-of-technology-mentality is fortunately being abandoned by pragmatic---and forward looking---social scientists working on the problems related to the developing world. But, unfortunately, in the ESL/EFL circles the old paradigm still continues.

The above concerns do not exhaust the list, they are only indicative of the tensions which one notices in the literature. However, there are some other, in my view fundamental, concerns for applied linguistic research, which have broader significance. I would like to discuss these briefly.

These issues concern conceptualizations about the users of English internationally, conceptualizations of the theoretical frameworks adopted for the description of the English-using speech fellowships in the Outer Circle, and the question of the 'renewal of connection' between the theoretical frameworks and the uses and users of English.[5]

First, let me discuss the conceptualization concerning the users of English internationally. In the post-1950s, the dominant paradigms of linguistic research have taken monolingualism as the norm for linguistic behavior in linguistic interactions. This is particularly true of the USA. This position, unfortunately, has resulted in a rather distorted view of bilingual societies, and bilingualism in general. As a consequence, the manifestations of language contact have been viewed from the wrong perspective. Mühlhäusler (1985) is right in drawing our attention to the fact that language contact has been receiving less and less attention in linguistic literature.[6]

The concept that seems to have survived in applied linguistics is 'interference'. And here Joshua Fishman's observation (1968: 29) has, unfortunately come to haunt us. He says that linguists tend to see language in two ways '... the first being that of two "pure" languages, and the second that of "interference" between them.' That observation may not apply to all linguists,

but it is certainly true of most dominant research paradigms used for the study of world Englishes. The term 'interference' has acquired a negative connotation, attitudinally very loaded.

What such statements convey, unfortunately, is that multilingualism is an aberration, and monolingualism is the norm. However, the reality is that monolingualism is the exception, and the largest number of users of English are bi- or multilinguals; such bi- or multilingual users of English bring to the English language a multicultural dimension, not only in the Outer Circle, but even in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and so on (see e.g. Walker 1984).

It is not that the relationship of language and the sociocultural context is not recognized. Indeed it is, as for example by Quirk (1986: 19), when he says,

> ... even the simplest, shortest, least technical, least momentous texts have a structure involving profound **interactions** between language and the world, between individual and culture in which they operate: involving extensive assumptions about shared knowledge and shared attitudes, reasoned inferences about the degree to which participants in even such simple communications are willing to operate. [Emphasis added]

However, when it comes to recognizing the implications of the use of English in, for example, the Asian or African contexts, the results of such uses on the form and functions of English, and the reflections of such uses in the literatures written in English, there is serious resistance to the interrelation between language and the world, as we find in Quirk's observation: the important process of cross-over is missing. That is unfortunately true of Quirk's own papers (see e.g. Quirk 1988 and 1989).

And, related to this is the conceptualization of theoretical frameworks used for description and analysis of English in the Outer Circle. It is unfortunate that the types of models used for such description by applied linguists have been rather uninsightful. What is needed is to view the uses and the users of English within the theoretical frameworks which may be considered 'socially realistic'. What I have in mind are, for example, the frameworks presented by J.R. Firth, M.A.K. Halliday, Dell Hymes, and William Labov. Halliday (1978: 2) tells us:

> A social reality (or a 'culture') is itself an edifice of meanings --- a semiotic construct. In this perspective, language is one of the semiotic systems that constitutes a culture; one that is distinctive in that it also serves as an encoding system for many (though not all) of the others ...

And he adds:

> The contexts in which meanings are exchanged are not devoid of social value; a context of speech is itself a semiotic construct, having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the participants to predict features of the prevailing register ... and hence to understand one another as they go along.

The advantage of such frameworks as that of Halliday is that they provide a context for description, they relate language to use, and, yet, they bring out the formal distinctiveness; they assign a 'meaning' to what has merely been termed 'interference' or 'fossilization'. They provide a dimension to the description which many structural and post-structural paradigms have failed to provide. A socioculturally satisfactory description and theoretically insightful analysis must still seek the 'renewal of connection with experience', as Firth would say (1957: xii). And here, the crucial word is 'experience'.

It is not too much to ask that claims about the form and functions of English in the Outer Circle be justified in terms of the renewal of connection. This implies that the observations about English in the Outer Circle should be valid in terms of the following: (a) the sociolinguistic contexts, (b) the functional contexts, (c) the pragmatic contexts, and (d) the attitudinal contexts.

What I have said above is broad generalization: it gives the impression that all current approaches to world Englishes have ignored the above contexts. That actually is not correct.

The above discussion may be summarized in terms of a bundle of fallacies which show in the dominant approaches to world Englishes. The fallacies are of the following types: theoretical, methodological, formal, functional, and attitudinal.

TYPES OF FALLACIES ABOUT WORLD ENGLISHES
(The Outer Circle)

THEORETICAL	METHODOLOGICAL	FORMAL	FUNCTIONAL	ATTITUDINAL
*Paradigm trap *ideal hearer-speaker *mono-lingualism as the norm *emphasis on static as opposed to dynamic	*cynicism about ontological status of varieties *non-recognition of varieties within a variety *ignoring socio-linguistic contexts (users/uses) *non-recognition of cline of a. bilingualism b. intelligibility c. acceptability *non-recognition of 'verbal repertoire' *ambilingualism as the norm *directionality toward monomodel	*variety-specific generalizations on one type of data *non-recognition of institutionalization *'error'-oriented approach *unidimensional generalizations (developed/developing) *no distinction between acquisitional deficiency and creative deviation/innovation *no attempt to contextualize nativization *non-recognition of 'systemicness *non-recognition of social identity with lectal shifts, discoursal strategies, mixing, switching, and the cline of 'norms'	*no consideration of 'range' and 'depth' *non-recognition of 'pluricentricity' *non-recognition of multiple socio-cultural identities *undue emphasis on international as opposed to intranational roles *variables for the following, e.g., determined on the basis of Inner Circle a. pragmatic success/failure b. intelligibility/ interpretability/ comprehensibility c. communicative competence d. ESP	*us/them dichotomy *non-recognition of historical depth *emphasis on 'integrative' as opposed to 'instrumental' motivation *stress on exo-centric models without pragmatic justification

But all the bees are not out of my bonnet yet. The issues raised in this paper, though restricted to applied linguistics and world Englishes, apply to other areas of applied linguistics too. Here, I must go back to the position which I presented at the beginning. I do not see applied linguistics divorced from the social concerns of our times, nor from the concerns of relevance to the societies in which we live. This view, of course, entails a **responsibility**. The question of responsibility brings several other issues to the forefront: the issues of social identity, of attitudes, of cultural values, and of culturally-determined interactional patterns and their acceptance, and, above all, of choosing the most insightful paradigms of research.

In other words, the question of the whole semiotic system is involved here. And, more important, in answering questions about Englishes across cultures, we get only glimpses of truth. True, these glimpses are tantalizing, but they do not present the whole truth about the users and uses of English. And here, once more, I must go back to Dwight Bolinger's inspiring Presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America (1973), in which, with reference to a different context, he says 'Truth is a linguistic question because communication is impossible without it.' (1973: 549) We, as applied linguists, cannot justifiably be just 'social sideliners'. And if I may continue with Bolinger's quote, the issue becomes more complex, since as he aptly warns us, 'a taste of truth is like a taste of blood.'

The task of applied linguists working on various aspects of world Englishes is very intricate, very sensitive, for the consequences of such research are immense. This research touches us all in very meaningful and far reaching ways. A large segment of the human population is involved in using English across cultures, and across languages. In our task, we have to satisfy many gods, and most of all, we have to remind ourselves more often than we actually do, that the situation of English around the world is unprecedented in many respects, and approaches to it have to be unprecedented too, formally, sociolinguistically, and attitudinally. It seems to me that our present paradigms and attitudes are simply not up to the challenge which our discipline is facing.

And the profession at large does not show that we are aware of the issues which confront the largest segment of users of English in the Outer Circle. We must be courageous and ask ourselves, like a Brahmin priest asked of Gautama Buddha some 2500 years ago, 'What are you then? Are you a god, a demigod, some spirit or an ordinary man?' 'None of these', answered the Buddha, 'I am awake.'

The problem is that applied linguists have not been asked the question. We seem to have no accountability; therefore, we do not know whether we are 'awake' about the challenges, and the social implications of our research. Perhaps the time has come to ask ourselves some serious questions: questions of social concern and of social responsibility. In other words, questions concerning accountability.

NOTES

[1]This is a slightly revised version of the plenary paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics (AILA) in Sidney, Australia, August 16-21, 1987. An earlier version of this paper has appeared in *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 19.1 Spring 1989, pp. 127-151 and *World Englishes* 9.1 1990, pp. 3-20.

[2]David Crystal provides an optimistic estimated figure of two billion users of English. He says, '... if you are highly conscious of international standards, or wish to keep the figures for World English down, you will opt for a total of around seven hundred million, in the mid 1980s. If you go to the opposite extreme, and allow in any systematic awareness whether in speaking, listening, reading or writing, you could easily persuade yourself of the reasonableness of two billion.' However, he hastens to add, 'I am happy to settle for a billion ... ' (see Crystal 1985: 9). The population figures for the countries listed in the three circles are from *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1989, *Book of the Year*, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

[3]For further discussion and references see Kachru 1985 and Kachru and Smith eds. 1986.

[4]Japan Association of Applied Linguistics.

[5]see, e.g. Kachru 1981: especially p. 77.

[6]As Mühlhäusler correctly suggests (1985: 52), aspects related to language contact are treated somewhat peripherally in introductory textbooks on linguistics. A random survey of such textbooks clearly proves Mühlhäusler's point. He says '... We can observe a marked decrease in the number of pages devoted to language contact phenomena...' (52). For a detailed discussion on language contact and for references see Hock 1986.

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